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Socio-Cultural Determinants of Women's Achievement of Management Positions in Turkey

Stephanie Häring

Harriet Taylor Mill-Institut für Ökonomie und Geschlechterforschung
Discussion Paper 33, 07/2017

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Discussion Papers des Harriet Taylor Mill-Instituts für Ökonomie und
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Die Herausgeberinnen

Socio-Cultural Determinants of Women's Achievement of Management Positions in Turkey

Stephanie Häring

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Stephanie Häring studied International Business Management at the Berlin School of Economics and Law, Mount Holyoke College, Massachusetts (USA) and Ege University, Izmir (Turkey). Her fields of interest are women in leadership positions and intercultural differences. For the following paper, which was handed in as her final thesis, she was awarded the POLITEIA prize for outstanding work in the field of women and gender research. After her graduation, Stephanie Häring continued her education at the department of psychology at Freie Universität Berlin and worked in a promotional program for women in academia.

Abstract

This paper identifies a paradox in the Turkish female labor force which amounts to a relatively high share of female managers against the background of an outstanding low female labor force participation. Socio-cultural factors which contribute to this paradox are examined with regards to their impact on women's achievement of management positions in Turkey. This paper finds that women from a high socio-economic background are provided with resources enabling them similar competitive conditions to women in Western states regarding education and the business environment. Simultaneously, Turkish business women are able to exploit career supporting factors which are specific to the Middle Eastern culture group. The majority of women in Turkey, however, lack access to the former group of resources, which in addition diminishes the benefits of the second set of resources, resulting in the development of a paradox in the Turkish female labor force.

Table of Contents

1. Introduction	1
1.1 Research Problem	1
1.2 Research Method and Structure of the Paper	2
2. The Status Quo: Turkish Female Managers in the Labor Market	3
2.1 Women in Management	5
2.2 Women on Boards	6
3. Formation of a Framework for Studying Women’s Participation in Management ...	8
3.1 The Person-Centered Approach	9
3.2 The Organization-Centered Approach	10
3.3 Bringing in the Socio-Cultural Aspects: Fagenson’s Gender-Organization-System Approach.....	11
3.4 The Socio-Cultural Perspective against the Background of Turkey: Definition of Socio-Cultural Research Parameters for this Study	12
4. Analysis: Factors Influencing Women’s Achievement of Management Positions in Turkey.....	16
4.1 Educational Environment	16
4.2 Political Context	19
4.3 Family Structures	20
4.3.1 Family and Societal Expectations.....	21
4.3.2 Family Roles and Responsibilities.....	22
4.3.3 Family Background	24
4.3.4 Family Culture in the Organizational Context.....	25
5. Conclusion	26
5.1 Summary	27
5.2 Contribution to Literature.....	29
5.3 Suggestions for Further Research.....	29
References	31

Figures

Figure 1: Turkish Labor Force Distribution by Sex.....	4
Figure 2: Female Share of Legislators and Senior Officials, Directors and Chief Executives	5
Figure 3: Attitudes of the Turkish Society Regarding Access to Education and Employment.....	18

Tables

Table 1: Female Chairpersons in the Highest Decision-Making Bodies of the Largest Publicly Listed Companies.....	7
Table 2: Female to Male Enrollment in Tertiary Education	16
Table 3: Female Labor Force by Educational Attainment	17

1. Introduction

Women in management positions have come to the attention of researchers in the 1970s (Schein, 1973a; O'Leary, 1974; Kanter, 1977; Powell, 1988). Since then, a considerable amount of literature on gender differences regarding management style, actual performance, obstacles for the entry of women into business, and other issues has been published. Most of this research was, however, conducted in Western cultures, mainly the US and Western European states (Schein, 1973a; Kanter, 1977; Hennig and Jardim, 1981; Marshall, 1990; Schneider, 2007). The coverage of women in management in Middle Eastern countries and Turkey is scarce. In recent years studies have been carried out by Kabasakal (1998); Zeytinoglu et al. (2001) and Aycan (2004). These studies give a first impression of the "misconception about Turkish businesswomen" (Aycan, 2004), yet, the topic deserves to be explored in more detail.

Turkey poses a notably interesting field of examination. On the one hand its culture, inherited from the Ottoman Empire, clearly varies from the European heritage with regard to values and traditions. On the other hand, its Middle Eastern neighbors treat Turkey as an outsider, due to the secularism gained under the founder of the Republic of Turkey, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (Kabasakal and Dastmalchian, 2001). Turkey's position between these two poles is also reflected in the labor force dynamics with regard to female labor market participation, occupational sex segregation and male-female earnings ratios, for instance, all of them being directly linked to women in management. Therefore, Western research findings on female managers should not be applied ethnocentrically; instead, specific in-detail examinations on the situation of women managers in Turkey have to be carried out.

1.1 Research Problem

Turkish female managers are a distinct group in two ways: First of all, within their national boundaries women in management positions in Turkey represent a minority when compared to the overall labor force; just as women in management worldwide do. Secondly, when comparing international samples of women in management, however, Turkish women differ from both, female managers in Western states but also in Middle Eastern countries, as elaborated below. This differentness is also reflected in the Turkish labor force. While the general participation of women in the workforce is increasing globally, across different economic systems and geographical locations (ILO, 2012), the female labor force participation in Turkey has been continuously decreasing. In terms of its female labor force participation Turkey used to be comparable to Spain, Greece and Italy in the 1980s (Buğra and Yakut-Cakar, 2010). Nowadays, however, Turkey ranks lowest of all OECD countries with only 33.7% of women being economically active in 2013 (OECD, 2015). This alone already places women in the Turkish labor market into a unique setting. There are, however, additional interesting phenomena with regard to females in the labor force in Turkey, more specifically regarding female managers.

First of all, although men still form the majority of personnel in decision-making positions—just as they do worldwide—, women in Turkey take a relatively high share of high status professions such as pharmacists, physicians, lawyers, professors, architects or bankers (Öncü, 1981; Aycan, 2004; Müftüler-Baç, 2012). Secondly, considering the low female economic activity in Turkey, the number of female managers is quite outstanding with more than 25% of personnel in senior management being female (Grant Thornton, 2012; İşte Eşitlik Platformu, 2013). Companies in Turkey have a comparably high share of females in top decision-making positions such as CEOs or chairpersons of the highest decision making bodies (European Commission, 2015). With regard to women on boards of listed

companies, Turkey, with almost 8% outperforms countries like Germany (3%), the Netherlands (5%) or Canada (6%) (OECD, 2012b). Thirdly, while the global gender wage gap has been converging lately, it widened in Turkey (World Bank, 2006). On a global level the gender wage gap becomes larger when moving up the organizational hierarchy. In Turkey, on the contrary, it narrows and even becomes reversed for women working in top management positions, which are paid up to 6.5% more than their male counterparts (TurkStat, 2006; Uraz et al., 2010). This paradox of a comparably low female labor market participation on the one hand but a comparably good standing of women in decision-making positions on the other hand raises the claim for detailed examination, especially as such a constellation in the female labor force seems to be a unique phenomenon. A great deal of literature has been published on both subjects: Female managers (in general) and female workers in Turkey. Yet, while the former lacks the country specific dimension, the latter lacks the focus on management as sub-segment of the labor force. Literature combining all three of these elements—gender, occupation, country—hardly exists for the case of women managers in Turkey. Consequently, more research in this field needs to be carried out in order to find possible explanations for Turkey's unique standing and to be able to analyze and compare this phenomenon.

This paper hence contributes to closing this gap in literature. In doing so it first of all adds to the rare research on women managers in Turkey. Secondly, most of the publications that provide data on female managers in the Turkish labor force are rather outdated or refer to statistics gained during the late 1990s or early 2000s. To the author's knowledge the most recent publication in this field (Kabasakal et al., 2011) uses 2007 figures as latest data. Considering the 2005 reform packages for Turkey's EU accession, however, which promote gender equality and women's rights, there is a need for a more current data analysis. Thirdly, there is no publication examining the paradox of Turkish women's standing in management versus their standing in the overall labor force as well as possible underlying reasons. Fourthly, although there are some hints that the differences in the Turkish labor force might stem from a socio-cultural background (ILO, 2004; World Bank, 2006; Ince, 2010; Uraz et al., 2010), there is no specification, which determinants this may comprise concretely.

Hence this paper aims to provide possible explanations for Turkey's unique position regarding women's achievement of management positions. It strives to identify the dominant socio-cultural determinants that play into Turkey's relatively high share of women in decision-making positions, against the background of a below-average female labor market participation.

1.2 Research Method and Structure of the Paper

As the paradox of the Turkish female labor force has not come to the attention of researchers yet, the nature of this paper is explorative, drawing on available literature and data analyses in addition to data gathered from official data bank platforms such as the OECD, ILOSTAT, TurkStat and the World Bank. Data collected from these platforms was then used for a descriptive analysis. A combination of these methods was chosen as together they provide fast access to a great deal of resources, allowing for the coverage of a wide research area and therefore are most useful in the approach of a new research topic.

To begin with, a comparison of women's standing in the Turkish labor force versus the international labor force is presented, focusing on management as an occupational sub-segment in particular. Since there is no comprehensive overview on the number of women in management positions in Turkey and the few existing publications are rather outdated, a pre-hand analysis was necessary to confirm and analyze the scope of the paradox within the female Turkish labor force. This

analysis was done by integrating data drawn from official databases into existing reports and academic publications.

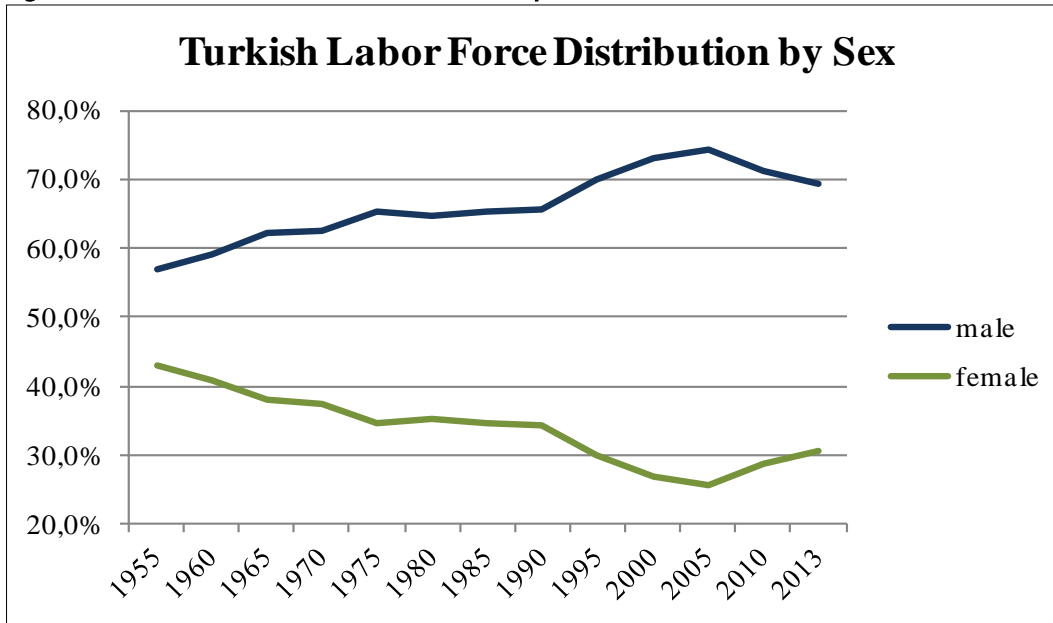
Next, a review of existing literature covering different frameworks on women's career progress is presented. Within this context Fagenson's (1990) Gender-Organization-System Approach (GOS) evolved as focal theory for this paper and eventually led to the definition of research parameters as described in chapter 3.4. This was done by using Fagenson's GOS approach as a starting point and then reviewing, examining and evaluating secondary literature on the GOS. Additional literature on socio-cultural factors influencing female management careers was studied and assessed for specifications of socio-cultural determinants. Eventually, the findings were consolidated, compared and analyzed for common patterns or outstanding notions which led to the definition of the following research parameters: The concept of **family structures** emerged to be of highest interest for the research question, involving the analysis of family and societal expectations, family member roles and responsibilities, as well as the family background, but also exploring the concepts of collectivism and paternalism as well as their reception within the managerial context. Since **educational environment** and **political context**, too, were identified to have a relatively high reception in literature dealing with socio-cultural aspects, those factors were chosen to be included in the analysis of this paper to reduce the risk of wrong conclusions and control for the research outcomes.

The analysis of the three research parameters—family structure, education and political context—is described in the third block of this paper. Secondary data analysis and literature review allowed for the examination of a broad field of aspects. Focusing on either one of the three issues—women, management or Turkey—or on a combination of these aspects, information from economics literature, journal articles, official reports and public documents as well as reports from official databases was collected, drawing not only from management sciences, but also related fields such as sociology, gender studies, psychology, political sciences and demographics. Given the limited amount of resources on female Turkish managers due to the relative unpopularity of this topic, the author undertook measures such as directly contacting researchers in this field. Unfortunately, in some rare cases access to the original resource still could not be achieved and hence secondary citation had to be used. In order to ensure the academic quality of this paper, these instances were kept to the necessary minimum.

2. The Status Quo: Turkish Female Managers in the Labor Market

The Turkish labor force has undergone a significant transformation since the 1950s. While women worldwide have been increasingly participating in the labor market due to industrialization, the growth of the service, public and non-profit sectors together with a changing attitude towards women in the workplace and the need for a second family provider due to declining incomes for men (Buğra and Yakut-Cakar, 2010; Davidson and Burke, 2011), female labor force participation in Turkey developed conversely. This is illustrated by the trend of the labor force distribution in Turkey. In 1955 43.1% of the Turkish labor force were female; this number declined continuously to 25.6% in 2005, as shown in Figure 1. Men's share increased respectively, finding its peak at nearly 75% in 2005. Since then a slow trend towards the convergence of this gender gap can be observed with women having increased their share in the labor force up to 30.7% in 2013. Still this is far below the world average of 42.8% (ILOSTAT, 2013d).

Figure 1: Turkish Labor Force Distribution by Sex



Source: own figure using data from ILOSTAT, 2013c

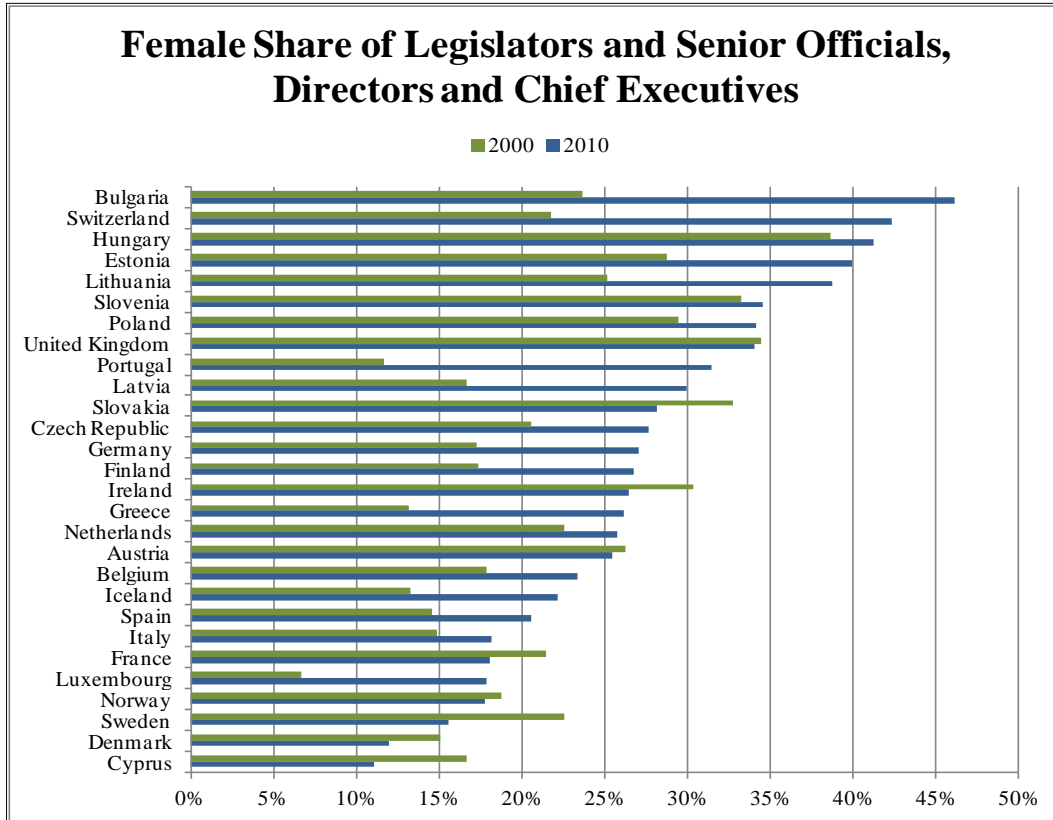
In contrast to many other countries, where the shift from the agricultural sector towards further industrialization and to the tertiary sector of the economy involved a growing participation of women in the labor force (Davidson and Burke, 2011) the opposite happened in the case of Turkey. Women's participation in the labor force fell along with the decrease in agricultural employment which dropped from nearly 50% in 1988 to less than 25% in 2007 (Buğra and Yakut-Cakar, 2010). Hence, while still being comparable to Spain, Greece and Italy in the 1980s (Buğra and Yakut-Cakar, 2010), Turkish female labor force participation nowadays ranks lowest of all OECD countries with only 33.7% of Turkish women being economically active in 2013. This is not only far below the OECD average of 60.7% but also 14 percentage points less than the second lowest candidate Mexico (OECD, 2015). The World Bank (2015) indicates an even lower Turkish female labor force participation rate for 2013, at 29.4%. With this share Turkey does not only rank last in its World Bank classification group "Europe and Central Asia", which has a mean of 51.8%, but is rather comparable to the "Middle East and North Africa" country group, which scores an average of 25.4%.

Worldwide women concentrate in certain fields of occupation. This "horizontal occupational segregation" can be observed with women working mainly in the fields of nursery, library work and teaching, and men working mainly in technical fields like engineering and physics but also law and health service administration (ILO, 2004). Although horizontal occupational segregation can be observed in Turkey, too (ILOSTAT, 2013a), a relatively large share of Turkish women work in professions such as pharmacists, physicians, lawyers, professors, architects or bankers (Öncü, 1981; Aycan, 2004; Müftüler-Baç, 2012), which are considered to be of relatively high status and in the West are rather considered to be "male" professions. Researches on this topic attribute the underlying reasons for this development to the modernization of the Republic of Turkey. The principles introduced by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk strengthened the position of women in society and prioritized gender equality (Kandiyoti and Kandiyoti, 1987; Arat, 1998; Özbilgin and Healy, 2004). Hence, middle- and upper-class families during the 1980s pushed for the higher education of their daughters and their employment in positions of esteem (Kabasakal et al., 2011).

2.1 Women in Management

Worldwide management is a male-dominated area. This conclusion was already drawn by Adler and Izraeli in 1988 who published the first comparative book on women in management. Even though women slowly made their way into management positions the core of this statement had to be reconfirmed in following years (ILO, 2004; Davidson and Burke, 2011).

Figure 2: Female Share of Legislators and Senior Officials, Directors and Chief Executives



Source: own figure using data from ILOSTAT, 2010

Analyzing a sample of 28 countries (ILOSTAT, 2010) a global growth for women in Senior, Director and Chief Executive positions from 22% to 27% can be determined from 2000 to 2010, with Eastern European Countries leading the field, as Figure 3 depicts. Yet, even there men still form the greater part of managers and women do not overcome the 50% barrier. At the bottom of the global table we find countries in South Asia, East Asia and the Middle East, showing a below-average proportion of women in management (ILO, 2004). Although providing slightly different numbers—what can be explained by the nature of the data collection—, Grant Thornton, who surveyed nearly 5.500 CEOs, chairmen and other senior level decision makers across 35 economies and various industries to examine the number of women in senior management, largely confirms the above findings (Grant Thornton, 2012, 2015). Hence, the conclusion made by Adler and Izraeli in the 1980s still holds true today, for in the 21st century men still dominate management positions.

Turkey, too, falls into the global category where men still hold the great majority of management occupations. The Grant Thornton International Business Report, however, displays a picture, which in global comparison is relatively positive. No explicit country data was included in the 2015 report, yet, in the 2012 report Turkey was ranked number eight out of forty countries. Having 31% women in senior management Turkey outperforms the average of the EU member states of 26% female senior managers (Grant Thornton, 2012). These numbers closely

resemble an inter-Turkish survey of 55 leading companies which found that that 40% of the middle managers and 26% of the senior managers were female (İşte Eşitlik Platformu, 2013).

A study of Ayca (2004) contributes to the finding that female Turkish managers' way to top positions might be less inhibited than commonly perceived. The majority of the surveyed Turkish women managers never felt that "just because [they] are a women [they] will not be able to advance [their] career in [their] organization" (Ayca, 2004: 468). This is in line with the estimation of women's ability to rise to positions of enterprise leadership of the World Economic Forum, where Turkey is positioned at 4 out of 7 (7 being the best conditions). The United Kingdom and the United States, which usually are perceived to be more supportive regarding the promotion of women's equality, however, merely score one point higher at 5, just like Germany, the Netherlands and Canada (World Economic Forum, 2013).

2.2 Women on Boards

Women's global representation in management is negatively correlated with the level of organizational hierarchy. Women in management positions are mainly employed in the areas of Finance/Controlling (46%), Human Resources (37%) or Sales (33%) and Marketing (31%) (Wacker, 2002). Considering positions of high power and influence within the organization, however, women are mostly excluded.

This vertical occupational sex segregation is attested by the information displayed in Table 2, showing the number of female chairpersons in the largest publicly listed companies within the 28 EU countries and three additional states. The data comprises statistics of the years 2005 to 2014 (European Commission, 2015) which was averaged subsequently. Again, Eastern European countries are at the top of the table, together with three non-EU countries. Yet, the overall amount of female chairpersons in European companies' highest decision making bodies remains significantly low. Half of the EU-28 countries score 3% or less and a quarter does not even achieve the 1% threshold.

Table 1: Female Chairpersons in the Highest Decision-Making Bodies of the Largest Publicly Listed Companies

Female Chairpersons in the Highest Decision-Making Bodies of the Largest Publicly Listed Companies		
Rank	Country	Women (%)
1	Bulgaria	14,8
2	Slovakia	13,0
3	Poland	10,5
4	Norway	9,9
5	Latvia	9,2
6	Slovenia	8,1
7	Czech Republic	7,9
8	Croatia	7,4
9	Turkey	7,4
10	Iceland	6,8
11	Lithuania	4,3
12	Estonia	3,8
13	France	3,3
14	Finland	3,3
15	Italy	3,2
16	Spain	3,1
17	Cyprus	3,0
18	Romania	2,8
19	Malta	2,6
20	Ireland	2,4
21	Hungary	1,8
22	Germany	1,7
23	Austria	1,2
24	Sweden	1,0
25	Belgium	0,6
26	Portugal	0,4
27	United Kingdom	0,4
28	Greece	0,2
29	Denmark	0,0
30	Luxembourg	0,0
31	The Netherlands	0,0

Source: own table according to European Commission, 2015

A similar picture is obtained for the US when looking at the Fortune 500 Companies. 2014 marked a historic high with 24 women holding CEO positions in America's biggest companies. Coming from just one woman in 1998, this number represents a solid improvement. Yet, this still amounts to merely 4.8% of all Fortune 500 CEOs (Fairchild, 2014). In 2015 this proportion declined to 4.6%, contrasting an overall female share of the S&P 500 labor force of 45.0% (Catalyst, 2015).

Vertical occupational sex segregation is a common phenomenon in Turkey as well. The number of women decreases when moving from professionals to general managers to top managers. The same is valid when moving towards women on boards. The share of female chairpersons of the highest decision making bodies of the largest publicly listed companies in Turkey is noted at 7.4% (European Commission, 2015). While this number is considerably small when standing alone, it takes effect when comparing it to the rest of the sample. Compared to the EU-28, (Norway and Iceland also included) Turkey is among the top ten countries regarding female chairpersons. As demonstrated by Table 1, Turkey, together with Eastern European countries, leaves behind many Western industrialized states where the share of female chair persons in publicly listed companies is less than half of Turkey's score to the point of hardly mentionable. The Corporate Gender Gap Report (Zahidi and Ibarra, 2010) communicates a similar picture. The report covers 20 major economies that fulfilled the "critical mass criterion" of 20 or more completed surveys of 100 target companies in each economy. The report found

Turkey to be the country with the third highest percentage of female CEOs (12%)—although having the third lowest percentage of overall female employees—closely behind Norway (12%) and Finland (13%). These numbers are supported by a study of the Turkish Equality At Work Platform which found that in a sample of 55 leading Turkish firms, 15% of the Heads of the Board of Directors were women (İşte Eşitlik Platformu, 2013).

Another point of interest with regards to Turkish women in management and top management is the phenomenon of a reversed gender pay gap at these levels. While overall the gender pay gap, which amounts to 15.5% in 2013 for the OECD country average and 20.1% for Turkey (OECD, 2013), has the global tendency to increase at higher organizational levels (Japan Statistics Bureau, 2014; United States Department of Labor, 2015), it decreases in Turkey and even becomes reversed at top levels. Uraz et al. (2010) observe that male-female earning differences decline with higher educational attainment and in the first survey on the country's earnings structure the Turkish Statistical Institute notes that in 2006 women working as "Legislators, Seniors, Officials and Managers" earned 2.5% more than their male counterparts (TurkStat, 2008). This finding is reconfirmed four years later, when the survey notes that for the major occupational group "Managers" females earned 6.5% more than their male colleagues (TurkStat, 2010).

After all, Turkey joins the global picture of male predominance at decision-making positions and a decreasing representation of women at higher levels of the organizational hierarchy. Yet, the above elaborations illustrate that Turkey stands out with regards to its female labor force participation, gender wage gap developments and the number of females working in high status professions and management. This paper focuses on the relatively high share of female managers in Turkey, especially against the background of the outstanding low female labor force participation, and aims at the explanation of this unique phenomenon.

3. Formation of a Framework for Studying Women's Participation in Management

As elaborated extensively in the previous chapter, the overall numbers on women in management are clear. There are still too little females in management positions worldwide and in top management particularly. Furthermore, the labor market is divided by horizontal and vertical sex segregation. Various attempts in the late 1970s and the 1980s generated possible theories concerning the proportion of women in management positions. In this context particular emphasis was given to internal gender differences (Schein, 1973, 1975; Hennig and Jardim, 1981; Fagenson, 1986; Harragan, 1987) and the organization's structure (Kanter, 1977; Fagenson, 1986). In spite of different terminologies and varying degrees concerning the coverage and characterization of factors involved, the majority of literature classifies the plurality of explanation-seeking approaches for women's limited advancement to management positions into these two research perspectives (Autenrieth, 1996). Newer research (Fagenson, 1990; Domsch et al., 1994) also introduced societal and cultural aspects, together with the personal and organizational aspects, as factors influencing women's achievement of managerial positions. Standing in close relationship with women's movements and political discussions of their time (Hermann, 2004) three paradigms evolved:

- (1) The Person-Centered Approach
- (2) The Organization-Centered Approach
- (3) The Gender-Organization-System Approach

The following review of frameworks for women's participation in management draws on US-based research predominantly, as it forms the foundations of gender research, gender research in management and furthermore is most often referred

to for cross-cultural comparisons and international research in this field. The ongoing explanations focus on underlying concepts and common grounds of the different lines of research instead of listing single aspects each analysis comprises. It has to be pointed out, however, that these frameworks only serve as models to explain certain tendencies and structures and must not be understood universally. Further criticism of each framework is not discussed in this paper as it is only of secondary importance to the research question and would exceed the scope of this paper.

3.1 The Person-Centered Approach

The first school of thought regarding factors that facilitate or hamper women's achievement of management positions emerged in the 1970s in the United States (Schein, 1973). Although literature refers to this theory with different terminologies such as "Person-Centered Explanation" (Riger and Galligan, 1980: 902), "Gender-Centered Perspective" (Fagenson, 1986: 75; Fagenson, 1990: 267), "Variable Person Approach" (Schneider, 2007:49), or "Supply-Centered Approach" (Domsch et al., 1994: 14) they all are concerned with internal gender differences and draw on micro-theoretical explanations such as socialization practices and psychological grounds (Hermann, 2004). In the following analyses this category is referred to as Person-Centered Approach.

The beginnings of gender research focused on gender stereotypes and sex role expectations as reasons for an internal differentness among men and women. Schein (1973: 5) found that "successful middle managers are perceived to possess those characteristics, attitudes and temperaments more commonly ascribed to men in general than to women in general". Representative of these perceived characteristics are leadership ability, aggressiveness, self-confidence, and the desire for responsibility; independent of the variable whether the sample was male or female (Schein, 1975). Submissiveness, passiveness and irrationality but also kindness and selflessness are identified as prevailing feminine traits (Fagenson, 1990). According to this "person-centered" (Fagenson, 1986) or "gender-centered" (Fagenson, 1990) perspective women's attitudes, behaviors and orientations are "antithetical to being a successful, promotable manager" (Fagenson, 1986: 77). Causes for these differences in women's and managers', or women's and men's character traits respectively, are attributed to differential sex-role socialization, gender identity formation and reality construction between boys and girls (Fagenson, 1986). The dis-congruence of perceived female characteristics and perceived requisite management characteristics hence is drawn on as an explanation for the limited number of females in management (Schein, 1973).

Harragan (1987) advances the person-centered view by arguing that women have internalized attitudes and behaviors that are unsuitable for managerial positions. The reasons for this she attributes to the fact that women "lack elementary conceptual knowledge about the [male dominated] working environment" (Harragan, 1987: 21) which is coined by a male culture when it comes to managerial positions. Hennig and Jardim (1981) support this view by stating that corporate manners are congruent to male manners, "[t]he manners women bring with them are [- however -] those of another society" (Hennig and Jardim, 1981: 32), resulting in a lasting disadvantage as soon as middle management positions are approached.

Gender stereotypes and sex role expectations form the core of the Person-Centered Approach. Other factors classified by literature as gender-centered explanation for women's limited progress in the organizational hierarchy are women's greater interest in a work-life-balance, their family commitment and lower career-orientation (Domsch et al., 1994; Autenrieth, 1996; Schneider, 2007).

3.2 The Organization-Centered Approach

In the 1980s a different direction of thought emerged. Termed as "Situation-Centered Explanation" (Riger and Galligan, 1980:904), "Organization-Centered Perspective" (Fagenson, 1986: 75) "Organization Structure Perspective" (Fagenson, 1990: 267), "Variable Situation Approach" (Schneider, 2007:49), or "Demand-Centered Approach" (Domsch et al., 1994: 14) this thinking refers to organizational factors as determinants for women's progress to decision-making positions. Hence, macro-theoretical explanations such as power structures and statistical analyses are drawn upon (Hermann, 2004). This concept is summarized as the Organization-Centered Approach.

In contrast to the Person-Centered approach this framework argues that "[c]haracteristics of the organizational situation, rather than inner traits and skills, may shape and define women's behavior on the job" (Riger and Galligan, 1980: 904). Kanter (1977), the most notable proponent of this theory, established a link between women's advancement to decision-making positions and organizational opportunity structures (opportunity), the degree of influence they possess in their jobs (power) and their sheer number in the workplace (tokenism). The given opportunity to advance in the organization's hierarchy is considered to promote the development of the necessary skills. Women, however, often find themselves in job positions with a low potential for career development and therefore "tended to respond with lower aspirations for performance and commitment" (Kanter, 1987: 258). Kanter (1977) stresses the effect of limited organizational job perspectives' effect on women's work attitudes and labels this causal relationship a self-fulfilling prophecy. Closely related to this concept is the notation of power, i.e. the autonomy to make decisions, mobilize resources and exhibit a participative leadership style. Kanter states that limited opportunity results in the concentration of women in positions of limited power, where they become extremely bureaucratic and are therefore perceived as less capable and preferable leaders. This behavior, Kanter argues, has nothing to do with a person's sex; men would behave in the same ways given that they were in a comparable situation. Tokenism, eventually, is concerned with the small number of women who make it into top positions. Representing a minority, Kanter (1977) claims that women at these levels have to face lots of disadvantages such as isolation but also increased stress as they were given special attention due to their outstanding role. This inferior position may negatively influence a Token's performance, confirming the organization's tendency not to promote more Tokens. Successful Tokens, in contrast, often distance themselves from other Tokens and therefore "fail to promote or even actively block, the entry of more [Tokens]" (Kanter, 1977: 241). As a result, Kanter (1977) identifies Tokenism as a self-perpetuating system that does not change in the absence of external pressure.

Fagenson (1990) summarizes this paradigm as follows: There are two kinds of job positions in organizations: advantageous and disadvantageous. Advantageous positions are characterized by a high degree of opportunity and power which promote the development of suitable leadership skills. These positions are mainly held by the social majority group, i.e. men. Disadvantageous positions are characterized by a low degree of opportunity and power, which in turn fosters "attitudes and behaviors that reflect and justify their placement in these limited advancement slots" (Fagenson, 1990: 240). These positions are mainly held by the social minority group, i.e. women. As a result, women's limited career advancement must not be attributed to their gender but rather to underprivileged starting situations in the organizational structure.

As Schneider (2007: 65) notes, gender and women research in the 1980s moved from an individualistic approach to the examination of internal organizational processes, "based on the work of Kanter". Generally speaking, nearly all

publications that deal with organization-centered explanations for women's career advancement (Riger and Galligan, 1980; Martin et al., 1983; Fagenson, 1986, 1990; Autenrieth, 1996; Hermann, 2004) include and recognize the above explanations. Other major aspects that are often referred to by literature on disadvantageous organizational structures are difficult access to the informal networks (Marshall, 1990; Domsch et al., 1994; Hermann, 2004; Schneider, 2007), discrimination during the recruiting process (Domsch et al., 1994; Autenrieth, 1996; Schneider, 2007) and inflexible, non-family compatible career concepts (Domsch et al., 1994; Autenrieth, 1996; Hermann, 2004).

The fundamental difference between the Person-Centered Approach and the Organization-Centered Approach is depicted by Riger and Galligan (1980:905) in the following example:

"[S]ome studies note that women tend to overemphasize the task at hand, as opposed to seeing it as a stepping-stone to further achievement. According to person-centered explanations, women do this because they have not learned to set goals and plan ahead. According to situational explanations, this behavior has a radically different cause: Because women are not promoted within organizations, they overemphasize the job at hand, their major source of satisfaction and self-esteem."

As contrasting as the two approaches may seem, as important it is to consider them jointly instead of exclusively. A stringent separation is not possible at all times and moreover interdependence among the aspects exists. Literature therefore widely agrees that none of the two perspectives alone can serve as sufficient explanation for women's limited advancement to management position but a holistic perspective is needed.

3.3 Bringing in the Socio-Cultural Aspects: Fagenson's Gender-Organization-System Approach

The latest models of gender research advance a broad view, combining micro- and macro-theoretical explanations (Hermann, 2004) under the consideration of socio-cultural influences. A holistic perspective for the analysis of women's advancement in management positions, taking into account individual, organizational as well as societal and cultural factors is suggested. Introduced first by Fagenson's (1990: 267) "Gender-Organization-System Approach" (GOS), other researchers soon shared the view that an interdisciplinary model, considering the two previous theories but also taking into account socio-cultural factors might serve as the best framework for the analysis of women's achievement of management positions (Domsch et al., 1994; Autenrieth, 1996; Hermann, 2004; Schneider, 2007; Rowley and Yukongdi, 2008).

Fagenson (1990), on whose research the following pages focus, agrees with the Person-Centered and the Organization-Centered Approach. Yet, she refines the original Organization-Structure-Perspective (Fagenson, 1986) by focusing not merely on the organization's structure but also considering the broader organizational context, such as the organization's history and cultural values, its principles, beliefs, rules and customs.

The idea that the broader context should be considered is also reflected in this third component of the GOS approach, the socio-cultural environment of an organization. Fagenson (1990) suggests that "the social and institutional systems context in which [organizations] function", too, influences women's progress to management position. Corporations must not be considered as independent actors but as players in a larger system of acts and counteracts for external decisions, changes and developments, made independently and maybe unconscious of the organization,

may affect internal firm processes, structures and developments (Martin et al., 1983).

"Since work organizations are located in societies with particular cultural values, histories, societal and institutional practices, ideologies, expectations and stereotypes regarding appropriate roles and behaviors for men and women, they affect the internal structures and processes of organizations" (Fagenson, 1990: 271).

Consequently, societal expectations as well as cultural and institutional aspects can facilitate or hamper women's achievement of management positions, in addition to the consideration of organizational and personal aspects (Fagenson, 1990: 271). Hence, according to the GOS, women in management can be influenced by any of the three perspectives and a combination of the personal, structural and societal factors is regarded most suitable.

Reconsidering the example given in chapter 3.2 from a GOS perspective illustrates the three dimensions of the framework. As mentioned before, research found that women tend to overemphasize the task at hand, as opposed to seeing it as a stepping-stone to further achievement. According to the GOS women do this—just as mentioned before—(1) because they have not been thought to set goals, make plans and think ahead, and/or (2) because limited promotion opportunities cause them to overemphasize the job at hand (Fagenson, 1990). However, an added possibility is that (3) "as they are women – a group not often taken seriously in society – little attention and effort has been devoted to helping them surge ahead in their organizations" (Fagenson 1990: 272). Consequently a (1) Person-Centered explanation, and/or a (2) Organization-Centered explanation, and/or a (3) Socio-Cultural explanation might serve as justification. The example hence has been revised in two ways: First of all, a third perspective is added, dealing with social and institutional influences. Secondly, the GOS allows for all of these three explanations to hold true, either individually or also jointly.

As briefly mentioned before, the influence of socio-cultural determinants on women's achievement of management positions has widely been recognized by the international research community. Domsch et al. classify the factors related to "social and institutional systems" (Fagenson, 1990: 271) as "environmental" factors (Domsch et al., 1994: 15), Rowley and Yukongdi (2008: 3) refer to a "Social System Perspective".

Other researchers integrate the socio-cultural factors into Person-Centered and Organization-Centered argumentations. Autenrieth (1996: 49), for instance, argues that "informal work norms of social groups create structural elements of internal labor markets". Schneider (2007: 50) lists "social traditions and views" in addition to Gender-Centered and Organization-Centered barriers as factors influencing women's limited progress to decision-making positions. That certain management practices can also be attributed to the cultural context in which they take place is also pointed out by Hermann (2004). Yet, in spite of their acknowledgement, specifications of socio-cultural determinants are rare and the construct remains vague.

3.4 The Socio-Cultural Perspective against the Background of Turkey: Definition of Socio-Cultural Research Parameters for this Study

In explaining Turkish women's achievement of management positions Person-Centered and Organization-Centered justifications alone cannot provide a comprehensive picture. Although Turkish women managers are identified to have "strong personalities" (Kabasakal, 1998: 231), the same is observed for American female managers (Hennig and Jardim, 1981), for instance. Having examined the

size and age of organizations who promoted women to top positions as well as the percentage of women employed at lower levels in these firms (as this could be positively related to women holding top positions) Kabasakal et al. (1994: 55) conclude that "[i]t is not possible to explain the presence of top women managers [...] with the[se] variables". Evaluating this against Turkey's unique set of cultural characteristics, which represent an exceptional blend of East and West, a detailed analysis of socio-cultural factors for women's participation in management seems inevitable. "Turkey is the only secular country in the world where 98 per cent of the population is Muslim" (Aycan 2004: 454) and while its Ottoman heritage clearly distinguishes Turkey from other European countries, its secularism gained under the founder of the Republic of Turkey, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, also distances Turkey from its Middle Eastern neighbors.

Other researchers too, indicate that the paradox and the differences in the Turkish labor force structure as described in chapter 2 must originate from societal and cultural conditions. The ILO (2004: 8) does so by considering "cultural and social attitudes" in Turkey and the World Bank (2006: 1) acknowledges that "[c]ultural/institutional factors [...] have led to changing roles, particularly for women, and have affected household preferences and labor force participation decisions" in Turkey. For their analyses of the Turkish labor force Uraz et al. (2010: 3) chose their data set based on the inclusion of "socio-cultural values". Also Ince (2010: 56), who analyzed women in Turkish firms in the globalization process, "argues that in contemporary Turkey, cultural values [...] affect women's position in the labor market".

Although the significant influence of socio-cultural determinants on women's achievement of management positions is hardly doubted anymore, a secondary literature review on the GOS finds that only few studies have integrated this theory using real world situations, specifying distinctive socio-cultural factors. In assessing women's career development at the beginning of the 21st century O'Neil et al. (2008) accredit Fagenson's work, yet also claim that "[m]ore integrative theoretical developments needs to occur in the examination of contextual variables" (O'Neil et al., 2008: 737). Also in the broader management literature concerned with socio-cultural factors as influencing factors for female management careers, an explicit discussion of those is lacking (Aycan, 2004: 458). The lack of empirical analysis regarding socio-cultural factors' influence on female management careers can be explained by the assumption that although socio-cultural elements are easily included into theoretical frameworks, a practical application becomes more difficult. Concrete socio-cultural determinants are hard to define, as the examples below illustrate. This paper approaches this problem by first reviewing existing applications of the GOS first, and then expanding the review to further researchers' attempts of defining socio-cultural elements. Furthermore, established encyclopedias (Harrington et al., 2006; Editorial, 2007; Kolb, 2007) were consulted, yet, these too, do not provide any contributions, as a definition for the adjective socio-cultural is lacking.

Fagenson (1990) herself points to **values** (women's ascribed status in society), **demographics** (women's income) and the **political context** (affirmative action laws and maternity laws) as belonging to the "social system variable" (Fagenson, 1990: 272). Although Fagenson (1990) even provides recommendations for data analyses, the review of the only six studies which were identified as having "intentionally used [the GOS] approach as its premise" (Fagenson, 1990: 272) or which tried to relate its contents to their research, did not follow these instructions.

(1) Mordi et al. (2011) present Fagenson's GOS approach in its theoretical assumptions about women's work place behavior. Their reference to socio-economic and cultural implications is made by stating **labor market data** and briefly describing the **political system** in Nigeria, where their study was conducted. The consequently

presented impediments of women's career advancement are, however, not set into any socio-economic and cultural context and in their conclusion Mordi et al. (2011) merely refer to individual and organizational factors as well as **family issues**, which are presented separately.

(2) Mirza and Jabeen (2011) contribute to an empirical application of the GOS. Under the consideration of individual, organizational and systemic variables a survey focusing on gender stereotypes and women managers in Pakistan's banking sector was conducted (Mirza and Jabeen, 2011). A detailed definition of societal and cultural norms, which were identified to be "the major reason for women's lack of participation in the higher managerial positions" (Mirza and Jabeen, 2011: 275) is not given, yet, in their framework systemic factors are categorized as being either of political nature (**legislation, laws, policies**), developing nature (**education and health**) or empowering nature (**economic and political participation**) (Jabeen, 2012: 109; Mirza and Jabeen, 2011: 282). According to their understanding, systemic factors influence women's careers only indirectly through Personal and Organizational Factors.

(3) Sheridan (2004: 210), who works with the GOS in the context of men's absence from part-time work, considers the framework under the impact of economic forces. In her social level analysis she presents an examination of **gender stereotypes** for they "define our culturally agreed-upon notions of gender-appropriate (and gender-inappropriate) behavior and traits" (Sheridan, 2004: 215). Her economic analysis of the social level suggests that in times of globalization firms had to act within economic rationalism in order to be more efficient.

(4) In a study on the profile of Mexican women managers Muller and Rowell (1997: 424) use the GOS to predict that "traditional ideas about gender roles and relationships inform the prevailing managerial ideology". More specifically, the influence of a **patriarchal ideology** and the **significance of the family** are examined. Furthermore **legal equality** and **labor legislation** are considered (Muller and Rowell, 1997: 425).

(5) Providing an overview on the changing face of women managers in Asia, Rowley and Yukongdi (2008) take the GOS as a theoretical basis for their book. In general, they identify **societal and gender role expectations** with regards to **family-related issues**, such as gender-role expectations, marriage pressure and care-taking responsibilities as socio-cultural factors, as well as the collectivist pressure to conform to social norms (Rowley and Yukongdi, 2008: 10). For Malaysia, the only Muslim state of the countries covered in the book (Omar, 2008), **Islamic beliefs** were also recognized as a factor influencing women manager's careers. Besides culture and traditional values, influences of **legislation, political development** and **economic progress** are discussed.

(6) Omar and Davidson (2001) offer the most detailed concretion of the GOS and the socio-cultural perspective. In a study of female managers they identify **gender stereotypes, ethnic stereotypes, cultural and religious beliefs** as well as a **patriarchal social system** as belonging to the social context category. Besides the indirect influence on women in management—through its effect on Personal and Organizational factors—Omar and Davidson also recognize the social context's direct effect on female management careers, which is not the case according to Mirza and Jabeen's (2011) understanding of the framework. Interestingly, Omar and Davidson separately account for **work-family related issues**, putting them on the same level as Personal and Organizational Factors. Although the application of Fagenson's framework is presented only at the end of their paper and no explicit link to their research methodology is provided, the beginning of their work (Omar and Davidson, 2001: 39) entails concrete examples of cross-cultural key differences affecting women in management. Amongst others they identify the significance of

instances concerning **family structure, religious beliefs, education** as well as **political and social policies**. The concrete examples given for these categories might be considered the most valuable contributions regarding the specification of socio-cultural determinants in female management research.

Although the empirical application of the GOS by and large is still poor, other researchers, too, name socio-cultural aspects which impact female managers' careers. In their Environmental Perspective, which can be put on an equal footing with the social and institutional systems context of the GOS, Domsch et al. (1994) present **gender stereotypes, gender-specific work occupations** as well as **work and family related values** as socio-cultural determinants. In the broader sense they also point to **demographical and economic developments**. Another concept, which does not refer to the GOS explicitly but is closely related to the topic, is the model of "Culture Fit" (Aycaan et al., 1999), stating the importance of socio-cultural effects on human resource practices. According to this model, socio-cultural elements comprise Hofstede's (1980) dimensions of **power distance, masculinity/femininity, uncertainty avoidance** and **individualism/collectivism**. Furthermore, **paternalism** is added. According to the model of Cultural Fit, these elements are in turn shaped by **ecological, legal, social, political and historical forces**.

After a systematic review of socio-cultural concepts in literature the following factors were observed to be most outstanding:

1. First of all the concept of **family structures** in the broader sense is identified to be of highest interest for closer examination. For the purpose of this study the concept of family structures refers not only to the analysis of family and societal expectations, family member roles and responsibilities, as well as the family background but also explores the concepts of collectivism and paternalism and their reception within the managerial context. Hence a broad range of the socio-cultural elements as described by literature is covered.
2. Furthermore, a short analysis of the **political context** and **educational environment** impacting women managers is necessary. Although theoretical researchers hold inconsistent views on whether the political context and educational environment fall into the classification of being socio-cultural elements, they are included since a) the majority of studies (Fagenson, 1990; Muller and Rowell, 1997; Omar and Davidson, 2001; Rowley and Yukongdi, 2008; Mirza and Jabeen, 2011; Mordi et al., 2011) refer to it, b) their influence on (other) socio-cultural elements cannot be precluded and c) their analysis is necessary in order to control for the research outcomes and to reduce the risk of wrong conclusions due to ignored facts and undiscovered causations.

Another popular socio-cultural research aspect in Turkey is the influence of religion. This parameter deliberately was not examined, as it would go beyond the scope and focus of this study. In short, the values attributed to Islam are widely perceived to block female career advancement, however (Buğra and Yakut-Cakar, 2010). On the other hand, there are indications that the "Islam culture [...] [does] not appear to be a major issue" (Taylor and Napier, 2001: 361) for women managers in Turkey and "education rather than religion [...] has the greater impact on the acceptance of women in the workplace" (Taylor and Napier, 2001: 848). Therefore the exclusion of this topic seemed acceptable for the purpose of this study.

4. Analysis: Factors Influencing Women's Achievement of Management Positions in Turkey

The following chapter provides the analysis of the previously defined research parameters. Main focus of attention was the examination of family structures in Turkey, yet, prior to this a brief scan of the educational environment and the political context relevant to women managers in Turkey is presented.

4.1 Educational Environment

The analysis of the educational environment in Turkey—in comparison to other states—might provide first evidence for Turkey's relatively high share of women achieving management positions. As women working in management have usually enjoyed higher education (Zeytinoglu et al., 2001; Napier and Taylor, 2002; Burke et al., 2007), key figures from the tertiary field of education regarding gender equality and gender distribution are considered in the following examination.

One possible attempt to explain the relatively high level of female Turkish managers in comparison to certain Western states could be the assumption that this outcome is a reflection of either a) a significantly higher ratio of female university students in Turkey in general, or b) a significantly higher number of female *business* students in Turkey, both when compared to other countries. Comparing demographic data, this theory has to be abandoned, however.

Table 2: Female to Male Enrollment in Tertiary Education

Female to Male Enrollment in Tertiary Education	
Turkey	0,79
Japan	0,86
Iran	1,08
Spain	1,24
United Kingdom	1,38
United States	1,40
Sweden	1,57

Source: own table using data from World Bank, 2011

Women worldwide have started to emphasize their right to pursue higher education; female students have achieved parity with males by the 1980s (Altbach et al., 2009) and nowadays outnumber their male university colleagues in the majority of countries worldwide. Turkey, however, represents a rare exception. Using data from the 2012 World Development Report (World Bank, 2011), Table 2 represents the ratio between women and men enrolled in tertiary education. Countries showing a ratio >1 are representatives of the global majority of countries where the greater part of university students is female. Turkey, however, is one of the four countries worldwide where the greater part of university students is male (only countries with a tertiary enrollment rate >30% following on from secondary school leaving were considered). Hence, the previous assumption of an extraordinary high share of female university students as an underlying reason for Turkish women's achievement of management positions cannot be verified.

Neither does a focus on female business students reveal a relationship to Turkey's extraordinary high number of women in management positions. With a share of 45.39% female graduates in social sciences, business and law, Turkey lies far below the OECD average of 58.25% (OECD, 2012a).

Table 3: Female Labor Force by Educational Attainment

Country	Primary Education	Secondary Education	Tertiary Education
Egypt	4%	35%	29%
Finland	13%	43%	44%
Germany	14%	59%	27%
Greece	24%	43%	34%
Iran	34%	25%	40%
Norway	18%	38%	43%
Russian Federation	5%	33%	62%
Spain	37%	24%	39%
Sweden	16%	44%	40%
Turkey	61%	16%	23%
United Kingdom	17%	42%	40%

Source: own table using data from KILM, 2012

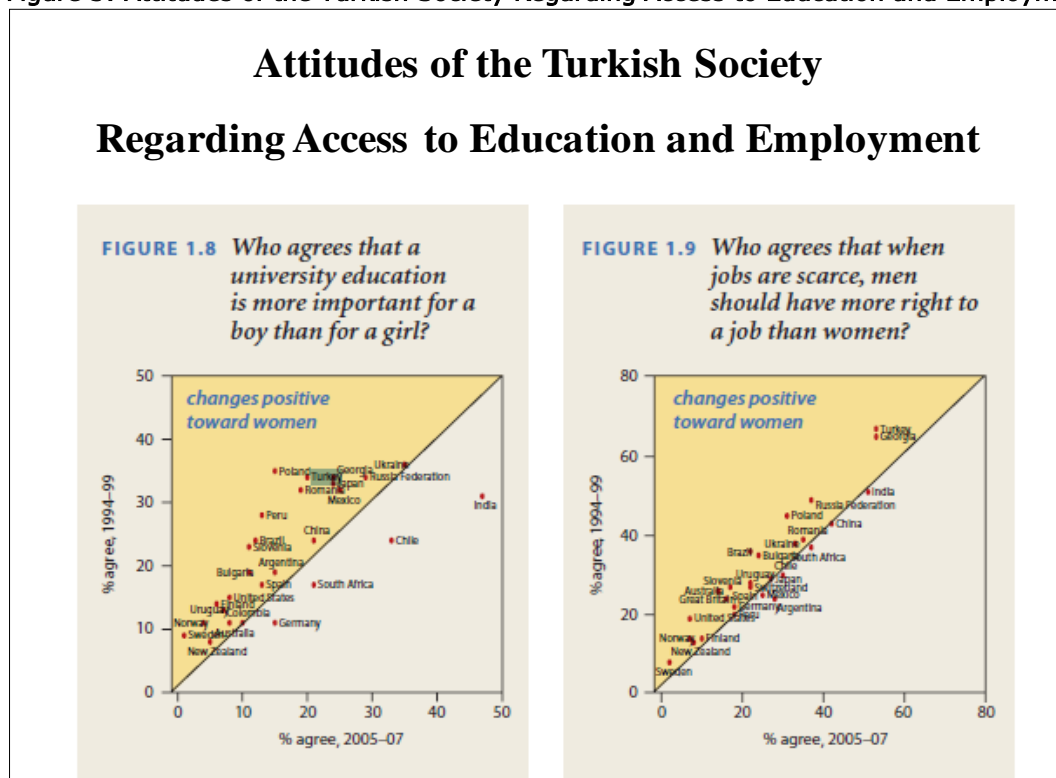
Interestingly, however, in the sample of 11 countries shown in Table 3, Turkey does not only hold the—by far—largest share of female workers with primary education but at the same time has the lowest share of female workers with tertiary education. Still, Turkish female workers with tertiary education outnumber those with secondary education, resulting in an hourglass-shaped labor force distribution by educational attainment, which is rather exceptional. This observation once more reflects the diversity, complexity and uniqueness of the Turkish society and labor force.

The contrast of the higher share of working women with tertiary than secondary education on the one hand and the outstanding majority of only primarily educated women on the other hand relates to the previously described paradox in the female Turkish labor force. Combining these observations it might be conceivable that those few women, who—against all trends—succeed in attaining tertiary education either possess certain qualities that later on also enable them in successfully competing with their male counterparts in the work environment. Another hypothesis could be that since these women have proven themselves to be qualified by attaining a university degree, the gender aspect becomes less relevant when looking for competent personnel.

The first theory, suggesting that women who succeed to complete business studies possess certain skills or resources which help them in attaining management positions, becomes plausible when looking at the following findings of the World Bank (2011: 68, see Figure 3). Turkish public agreement to the statement that "a

university education is more important for a boy than for a girl" dropped from 34% (1994-1999) to 20% (2005-2007), nevertheless Turkey still ranks higher than all EU-countries included in the survey. This share denotes a significant social barrier for women to achieve tertiary education. Women's disadvantaged position is emphasized by the second examination of the World Bank (2011: 68), which looked at the support for the statement that "when jobs are scarce, men should have more right to a job than women". Here, Turkey together with Georgia achieved by far the highest agreement rate, of almost 60% in 2005-2007. As top management positions can be regarded "scarce jobs", it seems plausible that women who overcome the barriers of attaining tertiary education and successfully graduate from university are well equipped with certain resources that help them in overcoming the barriers imposed on the way towards the achievement of management positions, too. This observation, in turn, relates to the original research question of this paper and the identification of these resources.

Figure 3: Attitudes of the Turkish Society Regarding Access to Education and Employment



Source: World Bank, 2011: 68

The latter theory, that the gender aspect becomes less relevant when looking for high-qualified personnel, is supported by Caligiuri and Tung (1999: 775) who suggest that "the more a country is in a state of high economic competition, the more likely it is that it will utilize the talents of women". Considering Turkey's economic position between the line of developing and developed countries, it is feasible that skills instead of gender represent the dominating employment criteria for management jobs. Aycan (2004: 456) approves that

"Turkish corporate life is relatively young and still developing. It is difficult to find sufficiently qualified candidates to fill managerial positions. With demand exceeding supply, there is less competition for managerial and professional positions. Qualification is the main criterion in the recruitment process, not gender".

The recruitment advertisement of a Turkish company in the Financial Services Sector, featuring young men and women exercising with expensive equipment

(Özbilgin and Woodward, 2004) supports this view by implicitly saying that hard-working staff, both male and female is sought. Further evidence for the predominance of abilities over gender in high-status professions can be found in Napier and Taylor's (2002: 847) report on foreign women expatriates in Turkey, who observe that "because so many Turkish women are professionals, have studied abroad and hold powerful positions, women are considered more 'equal' in the workplace".

After all one can say that a sound education seems to be a prerequisite for women wishing to achieve management positions in Turkey. Yet, the relatively high share of women managers in Turkey is not a reflection of an extraordinary high number of female university students in general or female business students in particular. Furthermore, additional hurdles stemming from society's perception of male supremacy regarding access to university education and employment can be observed, emphasizing the paradox in the Turkish female labor force and the need for an investigation of its underlying reasons. One possible theory originates from the idea that Turkey, being one of today's most rapidly developing countries, seeks for the most qualified resources and hence emphasizes skills over gender, which in turn facilitates qualified women's progress towards management positions.

4.2 Political Context

When analyzing women's labor market participation in general and their progress towards management positions in particular, it is inevitable to have a look at the political context of the country the women work in. Legal provisions might for instance prevent women from the active participation in the labor force; then again, women quotas might facilitate women's entry to top management positions. Hence, the following section provides an overview of the political standing of women in Turkey with regards to equality in the labor market.

In times of the Ottoman Empire, women's participation in the public sphere was largely limited. This started to change "when the founding elites of the Turkish Republic decided that women's emancipation was a requisite of their project of modernization" (Fisher Onar and Paker, 2012: 381). Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the founder of the Republic of Turkey, placed strong emphasis on the promotion of women's rights, which he considered necessary for the country's progress. Hence, one year after the announcement of the Republic of Turkey in 1923, an Educational Reform Act granted women equal rights to education (Ayca, 2004). The Civil Code imported from Switzerland empowered women with regard to marriage, divorce and child custody. In 1930, women achieved the right to vote, earlier than females in some other European countries. Only in 1992, however, the Civil Code article requiring a married woman to get her husband's permission to work outside the home was abolished (Fisher Onar and Paker, 2012). In spite of these upright attempts, women's status and representation in the public life remained low (Ayca et al., 1999) and the policies "improved the lives of only a small group of women" (Fisher Onar and Paker, 2012: 381).

After the 1980 Military Coup d'État, which was followed by a period of authoritarian regime, the Constitutional Reforms of 1995, 2001 and 2004, which were enacted against the background of the aspired EU accession, brought Turkey back on a track towards liberalization and democratization. The constitutional reforms comprised amongst others the strengthening of women's rights and gender equality. Article 10 of the Turkish Constitution (Republic of Turkey, 1982), for instance, which states that

"[e]veryone is equal before the law without distinction as to language, race, col[or], sex, political opinion, philosophical belief, religion and sect, or any such grounds",

was amended in May 2004 by a provision stating that

“[m]en and women have equal rights. The State has the obligation to ensure that this equality exists in practice” (Republic of Turkey, 1982: Article 10).

Indeed, some efforts such as the enactment of a New Labor Act in 2003, aiming at equal opportunities for women in employment by addressing discrimination due to gender or maternity, sexual harassment and part time work (Dedeoglu, 2012), the ratification of the Charter for the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) (Kabasakal et al., 2011), the promotion of microcredits for female entrepreneurs, or the temporary reduction of the employer's social security premium for newly hired female employees (Buğra and Yakut-Cakar, 2010) were undertaken by the Turkish government to promote the female labor force participation and gender equality. Yet, Buğra and Yakut-Cakar (2010: 533) warn “to evaluate policy measures not only with respect to their potential to increase the level of female employment” but also with respect to their emancipatory potential. For a large part these measures are regarded as a mere act of window-dressing to improve the female employment statistics while hardly improving women's socio-economic status.

On the organizational level there seem to be no tendencies for voluntary company policies that promote women to management positions (Aycan, 2004; Kabasakal et al., 2004). Moreover, some state-required measures, such as the provision of child care centers if employing a certain amount of women, have backfired as companies avoid hiring women above the relevant threshold (Zeytinoglu et al., 2001) or prefer paying a fine (Aycan and Eskin, 2005).

As Fisher Onar and Paker (2012: 376) summarize, a stop-and-go political and economic liberalization and several reform packages related to a possible EU-accession “have allowed for the profusion and articulation of diverse identities that are further fed by the revolution in communication technologies”. By the majority of women the situation on the Turkish labor market is perceived unfavorable. Although women and men are equal by legislation, scholars observe a discrepancy between legal rights and societal practices (Aycan et al., 1999; Kara, 2006; Fisher Onar and Paker, 2012), putting women into an inferior position. Yet, while the majority of women might not benefit from the equal status granted on paper, this legal provision is still, or rather at least, a necessary prerequisite for women in order to achieve management positions.

Although no extraordinary measures for the promotion of female careers can be observed within current policy measures, it seems quite reasonable that the influence of Ataturk's encouragement of emancipation and his appreciation of women as important and equal members of society still has ripple effects on today's (upper-class) society. Men from this class are mostly well educated, fill decision-making positions and largely identify with the Kemalist principles (Taylor and Napier, 2001). Therefore, they might tend to appreciate the professional achievements of their sisters, wives or daughters and women in general, rather than object to it like less educated men might do.

4.3 Family Structures

As concluded in chapter 3.4, the family structures might entail possible promoting factors for women's achievement of management positions that have to be analyzed closely. More specifically, the role of family and societal expectations, family member roles and responsibilities, the family background as well as the concepts of collectivism, paternalism, and the reception of the family concept in the managerial context are explored.

4.3.1 Family and Societal Expectations

Middle Eastern Societies are found to provide an even tougher environment for working women when compared to Western states. "Women do not have real choices between being married, having families, and pursuing careers" (Omar and Davidson, 2001: 44) but they are perceived as "social imperatives" (Omar and Davidson, 2001: 44). Analyzing the female labor force participation in Turkey, Göksel (2013: 53) finds that

"social beliefs and behaviors also play an important role in women's decision to seek employment. [They] do not make their decisions in isolation, but are influenced by their environment. In conservative and traditional areas, [such as Turkey] in which men have a greater decision-making power, and in which there is greater gender inequality, women tend to remain in the home, as expected by society, and become housewives".

Indeed, 85% of the Turkish population views Turkish women's real places to be at home (Aycan, 2004 referring to Erguder, Esmer and Kalaycioglu, 1991). Interestingly, women in Turkey, more than in other countries, seem to agree to traditional gender roles, highly valuing a "harmonic home" and good spousal relationships. Furthermore, "being close to spouse" is perceived to be more important to women than to men (Kagitçbasi, 1986). These demands are reflected in Turkish women's definition of a successful woman's characteristics, which are being a "good mother and a wife" (32.9%), being "socially active and useful to the community alongside being [an] accomplished housewi[f]e" (23.2%) and "being able to combine a career with household duties" (25.6%). Only 12.2% regard being a "self-sufficient and self-fulfilled perso[n]" as important" (Kandiyoti, 1981: 244). Whereas one might think that business women value latter characteristics higher than the average Turkish woman, recent studies show that the importance of family is still ranked higher even within this group of women. Examining work-family conflicts in dual-earner families with children, Aycan and Eskin (2005: 467), found that "[a]lthough they endorse modern values, Turkish urban middle-class families also try to keep the traditional values of familialism and collectivism intact". Confirming the relevance of societal and family expectations with regards to women's professional achievement, Beşpınar (2010) notes that both middle and upper-middle class women withdraw from their jobs because of family responsibilities such as child care or elderly care. Yet, women's participation in the labor market is not generally discouraged. "[P]rovided that family life does not suffer because of women's work", (Aycan 2004: 458) society approves women's involvement in the labor market. Living up to this dual role-liability, Beşpınar (2010: 530) discovered that Turkish working upper-class women sacrifice their physical wellbeing and become "super wives" in order to not neglect their household responsibilities and thus legitimizing their involvement in the labor market. This is in line with 85% of female Turkish managers answering "try to find a balance" when being asked about their reaction to a situation that required them to choose between their career and family (Aycan, 2004: 466). Additionally, the majority of Turkish business women has children (Kabasakal, 1998; Burke et al., 2007), once more underlining the role-duality Turkish female managers opt for. After all, Turkish business women are not only surrounded by a society that holds traditional gender roles but also they themselves emphasize the centrality of family under any circumstances. Yet, although such conservative attitudes are generally seen as obstructing female careers, it has to be pointed out, that the achievement of management positions for women in Turkey is not excluded per se, as long as the fulfillment of family duties as expected by society is given.

4.3.2 Family Roles and Responsibilities

As laid out in the previous paragraph, Turkish societal expectations still meet traditional gender roles and Turkish women throughout all classes and job categories seem to perceive the centrality of their families and their derived duties of major significance. Yet, certain factors and resources which help Turkish business women to become "super wives" as per Beşpınar (2010) and who live up to both their family duties as well as their career desires are identified in this section.

4.3.2.1 Child Care and Household Responsibilities

Many business women feel the pressure to choose between their roles as managers and mothers. In a study of more than 100 female and more than 200 male senior managers in the United Kingdom, two-thirds of the women but only one third of the men remained childless (Omar and Davidson, 2001 referring to Wajcman 1998). However, research indicates that remaining childless is an option that many women in more traditional cultures such as Turkey, are not willing to take (Kabasakal, 1998; Omar and Davidson, 2001). Hence, one would conclude in more career drop-outs in favor of motherhood in Turkey than in Western cultures. In addition, child care centers in Turkey are scarce. Although companies with more than 50 female employees are legally obliged to provide child care facilities, the majority rather pays high fines than setting up day care centers (Zeytinoglu et al., 2001; Aycan and Eskin, 2005). As a result, combining motherhood and work requirements seems to pose extra strains on women in Turkey. Yet, "[f]or Turkish women in managerial and highly prestigious professions, the conflicting roles of wife, mother and career result in these women facing different dynamics compared to women in unskilled or semi-skilled jobs or to other career women in more developed countries" (Kabasakal et al., 2011: 328).

These "different dynamics" are identified to be composed of three major pillars. Firstly, Turkish women are able to rely on their extended family (i.e. mothers, grandmothers, mothers-in-law or aunts) to take on household chores or child-rearing responsibilities (Aycan, 2004; Aycan and Eskin, 2005; Beşpınar, 2010; Davidson and Burke, 2011). The use of this network is not only cheap but also reliable (Aycan and Eskin, 2005). The "[i]nvolvement of extended family in childcare is a unique characteristic of collectivistic countries such as Turkey" (Aycan and Eskin, 2005: 466) which puts Turkish female managers into a more favorable position compared to Western female managers in coping with the reconcilability of family and work. Secondly, in case of family unavailability, low wages for cleaners and baby-sitters enable professional women to employ at least one domestic for household and child-rearing responsibilities (Aycan, 2004; Aycan and Eskin, 2005; Beşpınar, 2010; Davidson and Burke, 2011). Thirdly, this previously described advantageous position can only be exploited as Turkish women managers do not fear to externalize their responsibilities. In a survey of 52 top and middle women managers, 96% did not perceive household and childcare responsibilities as their primary duties but rather "saw their role as coordinating it among helpers" (Aycan, 2004: 467). For female employment is generally encouraged, *provided that* family responsibilities are not being neglected (Aycan, 2004), one can conclude that the actual fulfillment of the family responsibilities related to household and child rearing does not inevitably have to be carried out through the woman herself but that external support is socially accepted. This puts female managers in Turkey at a more favorable position when compared to Western women managers. The combination of family and work seems to be more achievable for Turkish female managers which might result in fewer withdrawals from work in favor of family responsibilities and hence a higher share of female managers in the overall work force.

4.3.2.2 The Role of Spousal Support and Marriage

As mentioned above, family responsibilities and societal expectations may result in Turkish women's withdrawal from the labor market. Indeed, marriage can negatively affect women's careers, as a study among Turkish male and female white-collar workers found (Kabasakal, 1998). Tor (1997; in: Koca et al., 2011: 597) too, identifies "not getting their husband's permission to work" (Koca et al., 2011: 597) as the major barrier for Turkish urban women's employment. The other side of the argument hence allows for the conclusion that the absence of this barrier, i.e. having a spouse who does not hold a negative attitude towards female work, encourages female employment. Indeed, in the managerial context research indicates that in conservative societies the presence of spousal support is one of the major factors for women to progress in their careers (Muller and Rowell, 1997; Kabasakal, 1998; Omar and Davidson, 2001). Regarding Turkish dual-earner couples, spousal support was identified to be of major significance in dealing with family-work conflicts. Moreover, it is positively correlated to marital satisfaction and psychological well-being (Aycan and Eskin 2005). As the researchers point out, this finding—while it might be considered universal—"is particularly striking in Turkey's cultural context" (Aycan and Eskin 2005: 467) where overall gender equality is relatively low. Hence, it is concluded, that for Turkish business women spousal support is one of the major factors to not withdraw from the labor market but to actively pursue their careers. Another argument for the importance of spousal support is provided by Kagitçbasi (1986: 489) who found that Turkish women put great emphasis on "being close to spouse", as pointed out in the previous paragraph. The perceived importance of this value grows with the females' education level (Kagitçbasi, 1986), allowing for the conclusion of Turkish women's increasing need of spousal recognition when pursuing independent higher careers. More than 80% of 52 female top and middle managers stated to find spousal support in either instrumental, emotional or a combined way (Aycan, 2004). While the importance of spousal support must not be neglected in the context of Turkish women pursuing management careers, this alone does yet not explain, why there is a relatively high number of female managers in Turkey when compared to other countries. Still, in a culture where marriage is a "social imperative" (Omar and Davidson, 2001: 44) spousal support seems to be a basic prerequisite for women to pursue their careers and achieve decision-making management positions.

4.3.2.3 The Role of Mothers

As elaborated in chapter 4.3.2.1, women managers' mothers play a vital role in Turkish women's ability to pursue their career, by providing help in household and child-rearing responsibilities. Yet, research indicates that their influence on Turkish women's careers goes beyond this support. In her study of 52 female middle and top managers, Aycan (2004) found that 94% perceived their mothers as "highly influential in their career choices and success" (Aycan, 2004: 471). Young women take their mothers as role models and are likely to follow their paths. Working mothers are found to have an effect on the long-run achievement of their children. Females with working mothers in Turkey are 25% less likely to become housewives (Göksel, 2012). Besides confirming working mothers' function as role model female for their daughters pursuing a management career in Turkey, Aycan (2004) expands the degree of influence mothers can have on their daughter's management career by finding that successful women managers with unemployed mothers also perceived these as a major support factor regarding their career aspirations. Although maternal employment and parental encouragement have long been found to positively affect women's career success, (Betz and Fitzgerald, 1987; Muller and Rowell, 1997) this perception deserves a separate remark in the light of the Turkish culture. Contrary to common Turkish societal expectations (cf. chapter 4.3.1) the mothers of the female managers in Aycan's (2004) study did not foresee the role of a housewife for their daughters but actively supported their daughter's careers

through mentorship and encouragement. Aycan (2004) attributes this behavior to the fact that the mothers of the surveyed women were the first generation of women who experienced Ataturk's reform in the new Turkish Republic which aimed at women's emancipation and gender equality. Being "raised with high ideals for women's development and empowerment, [...] they raised their own daughters with the same ideals" (Aycan, 2004: 471). It is questionable, though, whether the support of these first-generation Turkish Republic mothers exceeds the maternal support and mentorship in Western countries to such a degree that would result in the comparably high proportion of female managers in Turkey. Nevertheless, this finding clearly distinguishes Turkey from other Middle Eastern countries which do not feature an era of institutionalized women's emancipation.

4.3.3 Family Background

The way of socialization has been identified to be an important determinant for women managers' career development by affecting their access. Notwithstanding the central role of female managers' mothers, their overall family backgrounds play into their careers on much larger scope. Full support from the family positively impacts women's career progress. Besides active parental encouragement, the provision and promotion of educational opportunities equal to or even above the level of male children's opportunities is found to be a common feature among female Turkish business women (Zeytinoglu et al., 2001; Aycan, 2004; Askun et al., 2010). Another common feature of Turkish women managers is the high socio-economic background, with most of them coming from upper-middle and upper-class families (Zeytinoglu et al., 2001; Kabasakal and Bodur, 2002; Aycan, 2004; Kabasakal et al., 2011). This privileged background does not only allow for the good education of the women managers, which makes them a sought-after resource on the Turkish labor market, it also provides them with the access to "networks that matter" (Zeytinoglu et al., 2001). Moreover, a privileged background is seen as compensating for the lower status linked to femaleness and provides the prestige necessary for the fulfillment of leadership positions (Kabasakal, 1998).

High socio-economic backgrounds, however, do not only influence Turkish woman managers' careers directly, but also indirectly. As Taylor and Napier describe in their study of expatriates in Turkey (Taylor and Napier, 2001; Napier and Taylor, 2002), not only women but also men working in higher professions in Turkey are mostly well-educated and come from privileged backgrounds. Kuzgun and Sevim (2004) found a positive relationship between the level of education and positive attitudes towards female employment and a simultaneous decline in the level of religious tendency. Göksel (2013: 53) confirms that "education weakens the influence of conservatism", suggesting a more moderate climate among well-educated Turkish business men. Indeed, Taylor and Napier (2001: 360) observe that these men do not only "hold more liberal, Western-oriented values than less-educated, nonurban Turkish men" but "consider themselves as sophisticated and progressive about such matters as equality between the sexes as Europeans or Americans, and in some ways, [...]are [even] more so" (Taylor and Napier, 2001: 354). Foreign women managers reported "little difficulty [in] being accepted" by the men in the Turkish business world (Taylor and Napier, 2001: 360) and observed "a large number of Turkish women in the professions who are well accepted by well-educated Turkish men" (Napier and Taylor, 2002: 848). Taylor and Napier attribute this development in the Turkish society to the secular reforms under Ataturk, whose "influence has continued for [more than] 70 years" (Taylor and Napier, 2001: 354) and "cannot be overstated" (Taylor and Napier, 2001: 354). A result of these unique features of Turkish history is a great diversity within society with well-educated upper-class men accumulating in high-status professions. Being raised with an egalitarian mindset concerning gender-issues and in an environment where direct family members such as their mothers, sisters and wives are equally well

educated as men (Taylor and Napier, 2001), these men, constituting the direct environment of Turkish business women, clearly facilitate their achievement of management positions. Less educated men, on the contrary, show resistance to females in power (Taylor and Napier, 2001; Napier and Taylor, 2002) and block women's careers. After all, Napier and Taylor (2002: 847) conclude that "[t]he issue of acceptance as boss [is] not a 'gender' issue as much as a 'class' issue in Turkey". This insight provides a valuable contribution to the explanation of the paradox in the Turkish female labor force. Moreover, Napier and Taylor's remarks carry hints that Turkish upper-class men might hold more positive attitudes towards female managers than their counterparts in Western states, contributing to the relative high share of women managers in Turkey. Although this finding was not quantifiable in the scope of this study, the comparisons of women expatriates who experienced both, male managers in Western cultures and male managers in Turkey seem to be a solid argument, demanding further investigation.

Eventually the analysis of the family background once more highlights the importance of the reforms in the new Turkish Republic during the first half of the 20th century. Atatürk's measures affect today's women managers in Turkey a) directly through the promotion of female education in middle- and upper-class families, their access to meaningful networks and the provision of prestige required in management positions. And b) indirectly through the establishment of a business environment that holds rather egalitarian values regarding women in management.

4.3.4 Family Culture in the Organizational Context

Family lies at the heart of the Turkish culture and its importance can also be perceived in the Turkish organizational culture. Resulting from a strong sentiment of group and family collectivism, there is a strong preference for managers to exert a paternalistic leadership style (Kabasakal and Bodur, 2002). This implies that they engage in parent-like relationships with their subordinates by providing guidance, support and protection in exchange for loyalty and deference (Aycaan et al., 2000; Gelfand et al., 2007). In a cross-cultural study involving 10 countries from various culture groups, Aycaan et al. (2000) identified Turkey to score notably high on paternalism. Moreover, although leaders in Turkey share desired characteristics like charisma, vision and supportiveness with the Arabic cultural cluster, the desire for a paternalistic leadership style was identified to be outstanding for the Turkish case (Kabasakal and Dastmalchian, 2001). While Western societies view paternalism as being very negative, as it implies authoritarianism (Aycaan et al., 2000) and thus high power distance and hierarchies (Fikret Pasa, 2000), this feature was recognized to also bear advantages for Turkish business women:

"Paternalism in organi[z]ations implies that there is a family-like climate in organi[z]ations where superiors are concerned with and involved in the professional as well as personal lives of their subordinates" (Aycaan, 2004: 457).

In a study, 96% of Turkish women managers reported understanding from their supervisors with regards to family-related responsibilities such as obtaining leave in cases of family emergencies or sickness. Hence, it can be concluded that a "family-friendly" (Aycaan, 2004: 457) organizational culture with tolerance for women's dual work-family-responsibilities facilitates Turkish women's achievement and fulfillment of management positions.

As implied by Turkey's high scores on paternalism and collectivism (Sümer, 2006), Turkish culture is observed to be rather "feminine" in the Western understanding. Turkish society identifies more with "feminine" attributes such as esteem for relationships, harmony and caring for others, when compared to American culture (Hofstede, 1980; Lee Agee and Kabasakal, 1993). While advocates of the Person-

Centered Approach usually argue that women's personality traits do not correspond with those of successful managers (cf. chapter 3.1), Sümer (2006) found that regarding relationship-orientation the ratings for women and for successful middle managers are quite similar in the Turkish context. Following the Person-Centered Approach, one possible line of argument hence could be that since the overall picture of successful managers in Turkey features more feminine attributes as opposed to management conceptualizations in "masculine" cultures, women in Turkey face less obstacles in achieving management positions. In addition, Koca et al. (2011: 607) established a positive relationship between the femininity score of managers and their attitudes towards women's career advancement, suggesting an advantage for business women in "feminine" cultures such as Turkey compared to Western "masculine" cultures.

Yet, other dimensions of the Turkish culture rather point to a difficult environment for women in management. Scoring high in power distance, uncertainty avoidance and collectivism (Hofstede, 1980), the Turkish culture values characteristics which represent the opposite of those a cross-cultural study identified to favor in women's achievement of management positions (Caligiuri and Tung, 1999).

Then, in turn, Turkish organizations were found "to be significantly more future orientated compared to Turkish society at large" (Kabasakal and Dastmalchian, 2001: 484, referring to Kabasakal and Bodur, 1998). This observation points out that the organizational culture within a country does not have to equal its societal culture, and that differences between these two indeed exist (Kabasakal and Dastmalchian, 2001). Besides situational requirements, Kabasakal and Bodur (1998 in: Kabasakal and Dastmalchian, 2001) attribute their finding largely to the "higher education levels of the workforce", thereby confirming the underlying basic assumption for many arguments provided in this paper. This is that the management environment in Turkey is a sub-set of its society which represents an accumulation of people who enjoyed a higher education than the average Turkish citizen and were brought up under the influence of the Kemalist principles. Therefore, these people to a certain degree internalize different ideals and values than the general Turkish society, which favor women in management positions. This sub-set, however, is relatively small when compared to the overall population. A woman manager taking part in a cross-cultural study of career barriers for French and Turkish female executives explains:

"I live in Istanbul, and I can say there are no career barriers for women here. [...] But I cannot say the same thing for women who live in the East of Turkey because they do not have the same opportunities" (Akpınar-Sposito 2013: 12).

This statement nicely illustrates the dimension of the Turkish societal diversity and its impact on female management careers. The enormous differences within the Turkish society are also displayed by the incredible range of variation regarding Turkish women's intrafamily status. The range of this status is broader than in any other country studied and depends on a combination of the woman's level of education and professionalization but also urbanization (Kagıtçbasi, 1986). The sample of women who score high on all three determinants is small, yet it is just these women who benefitted from the above described facilitating family factors.

5. Conclusion

The above examination of educational environment, political context and family structures related to Turkish women's achievement of management positions describes certain structural conditions which positively contribute to women's career development in Turkey. Turkey's unique position between the West and the Middle East is reflected as some of the described characteristics give Turkey an

advantage over Western cultures while others distinguish the country from its Middle Eastern neighbors.

5.1 Summary

The analysis of the political context in Turkey revealed no current political measures with outstanding effects on women's achievement of management positions. Yet, the reforms carried out under Mustafa Kemal Atatürk during the 1920s promoted women's rights from an early stage on (Kagitçbasi, 1986; Kandiyoti and Kandiyoti, 1987). The reform packages related to a possible EU-accession further strengthened women's legal standing. However, only a small group of mostly urban women from a higher socio-economic background benefitted from these reforms while the large rural society remained unaffected, resulting in a broad range of diverse identities within the country (Fisher Onar and Paker, 2012).

The examination of the educational environment in Turkey revealed that the theory of an above-average share of female university students, or business students in particular, leading to the relatively high amount of female Turkish managers, has to be abandoned. Nevertheless, a higher education was identified to be crucial for female careers. Research indicates that in countries in a highly economic position such as Turkey, tend to show a preference for skills over gender in their HR practices (Caligiuri and Tung, 1999). Therefore, women in Turkey, where demand of highly qualified personnel exceeds its supply (Aycan, 2004), are put into a more beneficial position compared to their Western counterparts. As the promotion of female education in Turkey has not come to the same extent as male education yet (World Bank, 2011), the conclusion is drawn that those females having succeeded in tertiary education had and have access to a certain set of resources. These supporting measures allow them to succeed in educational terms and consequently continue to be helpful in their career development.

Directly linked to these resources is the women managers' family background. Literature indicates that upper class families strongly emphasize a good education for their daughters (Kandiyoti and Kandiyoti, 1987; Davidson, 2011). Furthermore, women from these families have access to a privileged network (Zeytinoglu et al., 2001) and besides, the prestige coming from the high economic status compensates for the lower status of women in the overall Turkish society (Kabasakal, 1998). Research suggests that education, networks and prestige are all upper-class resources which *directly* influence female managers' careers in Turkey. There is, however, also an *indirect* leverage related to high socio-economic statuses, which is enacted through the males of this group. Men from upper-class families are identified as being well-educated and holding liberal, egalitarian values (Taylor and Napier, 2001). As it is these men who hold managerial positions, their values contribute to a more female-friendly business environment than in the general Turkish society. There are even hints, that Turkish males uphold these values to a greater extent than Western males do (Taylor and Napier, 2001: 354). The promotion of egalitarian values within upper-class families is attributed to the Kemalist reforms, which were outlined in chapter 4.2. This unique feature of the Turkish history resulted in "greater changes in women's roles [...] in Turkey than in the rest of the Middle East" (Kagitçbasi, 1986: 498). Although women from the rural areas were hardly impacted by these reforms, women from the urban bourgeoisie directly benefitted (Kandiyoti and Kandiyoti, 1987: 322). Referring to the Organization-Centered approach and the concepts of opportunity, power and tokenism this institutionalized emancipation, which resulted in a great share of women in high-status professions (Aycan, 2004; Müftüler-Baç, 2012) must have lifted organizational barriers and changed masculine organizational patterns.. Although one must not suppress that some view the upward mobility of middle- and upper-class women as "a means of class consolidation" (Kandiyoti and Kandiyoti, 1987: 323) to keep lower-class men at a distance, Öncü (1981), too recognizes

that women's entry into male-dominated professions has created a momentum of its own, curtailing occupational sex-typing and providing role models for younger Turkish females. This function is often adopted by female managers' mothers, who were recognized a further asset of resource by this paper. When having a career herself, mothers directly served as role models, otherwise they were made out to provide utter support (Aycan, 2004; Göksel, 2012). This sets women in Turkey ahead of Middle Eastern women wishing to pursue a management career, as the latter countries lack an era of institutionalized women's emancipation. Mothers—and other female relatives—in Turkey also support young women's management career by offering help in child care and household responsibilities (Aycan, 2004; Aycan and Eskin, 2005; Beşpınar, 2010; Kabasakal et al., 2011). Female managers can come back to this resource as part of their highly collective culture, which is typical for Middle Eastern countries. It depicts a clear advantage over the West, where relatives' interference with household and child rearing responsibilities is uncommon. Also the availability of cheap domestic help in case of family outage is a superior situation when compared to the West (Aycan, 2004; Aycan and Eskin, 2005; Beşpınar, 2010; Kabasakal et al., 2011). Yet, this is only possible as the externalization of family duties is tolerated and women managers can pursue their careers *given that* the centrality of family and the consequent responsibilities are not compromised (Aycan, 2004). This, in turn, is related to Turkish women's, including business women's, desire for a happy home and husband. While spousal support seems to favor career development worldwide, research finds it to be of particular importance for women in conservative societies like Turkey, where marriage and childbirth are social imperatives (Kagitçbasi, 1986; Aycan, 2004; Aycan and Eskin, 2005; Beşpınar, 2010). Eventually, the high levels of collectivism and paternalism when compared to the West, were found to foster a family-friendly organizational environment in Turkey (Aycan and Eskin, 2005). These values contribute to society's higher identification with "feminine" attributes (Sümer, 2006), and therefore—following the Person-Centered Approach—suggesting a higher amount of shared attributes among managers and women and hence less obstacles for women in Turkey in achieving management positions than in "masculine" cultures. It has to be pointed out, however, that in a country like Turkey, where the diversity of life-styles, values and beliefs arrives at an extraordinary high scope, organizational culture does not have to coincide with societal culture in all characteristics (Kabasakal and Dastmalchian, 2001), as above elaborations show, but can also make up a sub-set of society where some values are shared while others might differ. This finding once more emphasizes the importance of taking into account socio-cultural determinants when conducting management research, while being aware that the degree of congruence between societal cultural values and organizational cultural values has to be examined in particular.

This paper finds that no single socio-cultural determinant for Turkish women's achievement of management positions can be isolated. Yet, one pattern that came up repeatedly was the reforms carried out under Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. Clearly, the Kemalist reforms of institutionalizing women's rights and promoting egalitarian values in a rather conservative environment are a distinct feature of the Turkish history. While they did not change much for the large rural population, they were highly beneficial for women with a high socio-economic background and are still so today. These women benefit directly from equal education opportunities, access to privileged networks and the prestige compensation in their status; as well as indirectly by being surrounded by men who hold liberal and egalitarian values. These benefits put female managers in Turkey not only ahead of those in Middle Eastern countries, but in these regards more or less put them on an equal footing with female managers in Western countries. With these starting conditions given, female managers in Turkey then can exploit their Middle Eastern culture-group reserved specifications such as the reliance on a family network for child care and household duties, the access to cheap domestic help and high levels of paternalism

and collectivism, resulting in more family-friendly and female organizational cultures, as well as the opportunity to take advantage from Turkey's highly competitive economic position and the resulting need for highly qualified personnel. Besides the recognition of the above described socio-cultural resources, references to Person- and Organization-Centered theories were established. As the Socio-Cultural Perspective represents only one of the three building blocks of the GOS, which suggests that all, Person-, Organization- and Environment-Based (i.e. Socio-Cultural) explanations, either individually or also jointly (Fagenson, 1990) can affect women in management positions, this finding confirms the holistic view of the framework. Furthermore, the theory of the GOS (and related concepts) that the variables can mutually influence or even be integrated into each other (Martin et al., 1983; Fagenson, 1990; Domsch et al., 1994) is illustrated using the example of Turkey as many of the identified resources are interwoven due to their common origin.

5.2 Contribution to Literature

After all, this paper adds to the understanding of Turkish women's participation in management by identifying direct and indirect benefits involved with a high socio-economic status. Moreover, additional success factors that do not stem from a high socio-economic status but the Middle Eastern culture profile were revealed. The integration of the identified benefits into an international context by recognizing Turkey's position between the West and the Middle East adds to the originality this paper. It has to be stressed, however, that only the interplay of these "Eastern" and "Western" determinants contributes to an advantage in achieving management positions. Fagenson's (1990) GOS, which represents the focal theory of this framework, was confirmed in two ways. First of all, the paper approved the significance of socio-cultural factors (besides Person- and Organization-Centered factors) on women's achievement of management positions in the case of Turkey. Furthermore, the interdependence of these factors was attested. This paper, however, also adds to the GOS by illustrating the significance of a possible non-conformity of cultural values in the managerial context versus the general society. This should be taken into account when conducting further research under the GOS. In the Turkish case the different values of the managerial sub-culture directly relate to the research question of the relatively high share of female managers against the background of an outstanding low female labor force participation in Turkey. Only a small group of women benefits from the advantages involved with a high socio-economic background, the majority, however, is denied access to these resources, and in turn has to suffer more heavily from career-impeding factors. This explains the paradox in the Turkish female labor force. The consideration of the paradox in the Turkish female labor force eventually is a perhaps the most important aspect this paper contributes to existing literature.

5.3 Suggestions for Further Research

The findings presented in this work are as indicated by the review of existing literature, representing a clear limitation of this paper. Empirical testing should follow up in order to confirm the results gained by this study. Additional insights might be obtained by examining further aspects, since this study was limited to three research parameters. Also, not only with regards to the number of parameters research should be continued but also within the three dimensions of educational environment, political context and family structures further research might add to the findings obtained so far. Regarding family structures one specific starting point would be the examination of nepotistic behavior. As indicated in chapter 5.1, there are views which consider the emancipation of women in Turkey "a measure of class consolidation" (Kandiyoti and Kandiyoti, 1987: 323). Evaluating peer reviewed journal articles a short research to this topic using combinations of the keywords "nepotism", "family", "Turkey" and "management" did not yield any

relevant results. As moreover, primary data was not accessible; this aspect was not discussed any further in this paper. Yet, a study investigating the relationship ties of male and female managers within Turkish firms should be conducted to give clarification on this factor's influence on female management careers in Turkey. Moreover, Taylor and Napier's (2001) indication of a higher distinctiveness of liberal and egalitarian values among Turkish upper-class men than Western men seems worth pursuing by empirical testing, and the reversed pay gap at Turkish top-management positions also deserves to be explained.

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